THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND in the IRISH TRANSPLANTATION, STATED.

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Wherein is held forth to all concerned in *Irelands* good Settlement, the benefits the *Irish Transplantation* will bring to each of them in particular, & to the *Common-wealth* in general.

Being chiefly intended as

An Answer to a scandalous seditious Pamphlet, intituled, *The great case of Transplantation in* Ireland, *discussed.*

Composed and Published at the requests of several persons in eminent place in *Ireland*: To the end all who desires it, might have a true Account of the proceedings that have been there in the business of Transplantation; both as to the rise, progress, and end thereof.

By RICHARD LAWRENCE.

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THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND

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¶ WHerein is held forth to all concerned in *Ireland* as good Settlement, the benefits the *Irish Transplantation* will bring to each of them in particular; and to the Common-wealth in general: Being chiefly intended as an Answer to a scandalous, seditious Pamphlet, intituled, *The great case of Transplantation in* Ireland, *discussed*.

TO avoid prolixity and diverting the judgement of the Reader by impertenancies, from the consideration of so weighty a business; I shall decline the way of an orderly Answer to the several Arguments and Objections of the *Discussor*, as they stand on his Book. By which I should have been necessitated to take notice of many impertenancies; as to this business

ſineſs in hand, beſides the many ſcurrilous expreſſions and ſcandalous reflexions contained therein, againſt Authority; whoſe contrary demeanor and actions are ſo publickly and well known to many thouſands of judicious ſober perſons, both *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* in this Nation; that my Teſtimony would be as needleſs, in order to their vindication: as the *Diſcuſſors* ſcandalous clamors are like to be ſucceſsleſs, in the ſtain of their reputation. And therefore I ſhall (for brevity ſake) confine my ſelf to a plain and true Account (ſo far as my memory and underſtanding ſhall help me) of this buſineſs of *Transplantation*. In which I ſhall uſe this Method. And ſpeak

Firſt, To the original Authority of this buſineſs of *Transplantation*, from whence it came.

Secondly, The Reaſons and Grounds upon which it was undertaken by the *Parliament*, as they are declared in the Act of Settlement, and Inſtructions for *Transplantation*.

Thirdly, The proceedings that have been herein from time to time by the Authority of *Ireland*, in obſervance of the ſaid Act of *Parliament* and Inſtructions. Wherein is to be minded, their prudence and tenderneſs therein; contrary to thoſe injurious inſinuations of ſeverity and crueltie, ſuggeſted by the *Diſcuſſor* againſt them.

Fourthly, Is obſerved the great miſtakes the *Diſcuſſor* grounds his Diſcourſe upon: The clearing of which, of it ſelf might be a ſufficient Anſwer to the whole Book, all the Arguments within it being raiſed there-from.

Fifthly, Several of the moſt ſwaying Reaſons and Arguments, offered by the *Diſcuſſor* againſt the work, Examined and Anſwered; With ſome Arguments preſented to conſideration, in oppoſition thereto.

FIrſt, The weakneſs and malice of the *Diſcuſſor* is much diſcovered, by his endeavors to lay the blame of the work of *Transplantation* (if it were blame-worthy) originally, or chiefly, upon the perſons in chief Authority in *Ireland*;

land. Whereas they were miniſterial and ſubordinate therein, onely putting the Orders and Inſtructions of the *Parliament* in execution, when received: So that had they or any ſubordinate to them there, been as diſſatisfied in the work as the *Diſcuſſor*; Yet it remained upon them as a duty (ſo far as it was poſſibly in their power) to ſee the thing done.

THen Secondly, For the Reaſons, which the *Parliament* grounds the work of *Transplantation* upon; (as they are hinted and provided for, in the Act for Settlement, *pag.* 13, 17, 22. And mentioned in the Inſtructions, *pag.* 1, & 2.) You may there obſerve, They are not upon that hand the *Diſcuſſor* would fix them, *viz.* To puniſh the *Iriſh* for Rebellion and Murther for the time paſt. (As he ſuppoſeth, and ſpends his pains about from *pag.* 7. to 15.) But on the other hand to preſerve the *Engliſh*, and ſo to ſettle *Ireland* for the future; that the *Engliſh* Intereſt and people might not be liable to the like inhumane uſage and deſtruction, for the time to come; which (we have reaſon to believe) they judged they could not do, without this work of *Transplantation.* Which being the Reſult of a *Parliament*, (nay of ſeveral *Parliaments*, one after another, approving and confirming each others Acts therein.) and withall not a ſoddain Act, admitting of a probability of ſurprize, before they had well adviſed and weighed the ſame, (it being under conſideration about twelve Months,) and they being the Supream Legiſlative power of theſe three Nations; might have cautioned the *Diſcuſſor* (though he be, in his own conceit, more able to judge of that work, than they all) to have been more modeſt in his language, eſpecially in a buſineſs of that nature, that no particular perſons could propoſe ſelf-advantage thereby; and withall of that weight, that the ſettlement of a Nation depends upon it.

Object. But the *Diſcuſſor* (me thinks) ſeems to imply an Objection againſt this, by way of *apology.* (in *pag.* 28 of his

Book) That though the buſineſs of *Transplantation* were the Reſult of the wiſdom of a *Parliament*, and though the *Parliament* might conſiſt of wiſe conſiderate men, that underſtood and weighed well what they did; yet (ſaith he) *to ſtop the* WONDER *how ſuch deſtructive Reſolutions could paſs, or be let paſs from the hands of Authority*, Conſider

Firſt, *Thoſe that were in* England *muſt ſee and hear by their eys and ears that were in* Ireland, *who* (as he ſaith) *were ſtrangers to that Land, and could not at the firſt ſight underſtand the compleat Intereſt thereof.*

Secondly, *The face of things is much different in* Ireland, *and though then neceſſity might have made it fit to have transplanted, yet now the unfitneſs makes it not neceſſary.*

Thirdly, *Though then, in their wiſdoms they gave out ſuch Orders, yet in their goodneſs they did not think fit to execute them, even till this time, as if they did wait a time to be gracious to the* Iriſh *Nation*, &c.

Theſe things are propoſed as a premoniſhment to ſtop WONDERS, (ſaith the *Diſcuſſor*.) But where doth this WONDER ly? Is it in that we had no wiſer a *Parliament*, that better underſtood what they did in matters of ſo great importance? Or that ſo wiſe a man as the *Diſcuſſor* ſhould not be found out to take advice from? It is my opinion, If that *Parliament* (which firſt contrived and agreed the buſineſs of *Transplantation*) were now in being, they would be able (by better Arguments than I can uſe) to convince the *Diſcuſſor*, that the ignorance of the ſtate and conſtitution of *Ireland*, is rather the riſe of his Book, than the occaſion of their Act. And if any rebellious conſequence ſhould be the effect of his or the like papers, in ſuch a nick of ſettlement; I doubt not but God would enable that Authority yet in being, to let out that dram of rebellious blood, and cure that fit of ſullenneſs he ſpeaks of, in *pag.* 25. And to let him know what it is to inſtigate a people to rebel againſt the Authority over them.

But (ſaith he) *they did ſee and hear with others eys and ears.*

ers, &c. I ſuppoſe he doth not mean, that in the interim they ſhut their own; and if not, but they conſidered of, and weighed the advice they received from all hands; then the more they conſidered with, the more their Reſults ought to be valued: For, *in the multitude of Councellors there is ſafetie.*

But, *Thoſe whom they adviſed with were ſtrangers to* Ireland. I ſuppoſe, they that deſired their advice, did not take them to be ſo; for they ſhould not need to ſend over to *Ireland* (as he acknowledgeth they did) for advice from ſuch as were ſtrangers there; they might have had many ſuch councellors nearer hand. But by the way you may obſerve, the *Diſcuſſor* was not adviſed with, or if they did take his advice, they did not like his counſel: Which (I am aſſured) proceeded not from a neglect of ſerious advice in the buſineſs; but rather, that thoſe in Authority had not altogether ſo good an opinion of the *Diſcuſſors* Judgement, in matters of that weight, as it appears himſelf hath. For I do know very many perſons, both of intereſt and underſtanding of the ancient *Engliſh* inhabitants in *Ireland*, that were adviſed with in this matter, both at *Weſtminſter* and in *Ireland*; beſides, thoſe whom he calls ſtrangers, (I hope) are not ſo much ſtrangers to the preſent conſtitution and ſtate of *Ireland*, but that they are able to give Judgement, That the preſent intended *Tranſplantation* is as eſſential to the future peace and ſafety of the *Engliſh* intereſt there: as the ſtopping the Leak of a Ship, is to keep it from ſinking.

But (ſaith the *Diſcuſſor*) *The face of things is much differed in* Ireland, *&c.* But he doth not tell you of which hand, Whether better or worſe; Whether the *Iriſh* be grown ſo honeſt that there is no need of it, or whether ſo conſiderable and ſtubborn, that there is not poſſibility to do it; But I do take his meaning to be of the latter, from what he ſaith to that point *pag.* 25. Which I ſhall further ſpeak to in its place. And ſhall onely give my aſſent to the truth of this one aſſertion, (as to the preſent ſtate of *Ireland*) That the face

of

of things are altered there; for time was when ſuch incendiaries durſt not have been ſo impudent in misrepreſenting the transactions of things there, as the *Diſcuſſor* in his lines, and others of his Accomplices, by their falſe Reports and misrepreſentations have done, and daily do; but time will manifeſt what they aim at, and drive towards, that have ſo imployed themſelves, to their ſhame, and the future caution (I hope) of any of our friends in *England*, that have been too apt to credit them. But I am loth to imitate the *Diſcuſſor* by impertinencies.

But the third Argument the *Diſcuſſor* produceth (by way of *apology* in the behalf of Authority, to prevent our WONDERING at them, they ſhould be ſo overſeen, as he ſaith they were herein) is to tell you, *That what their wiſdoms thought fit to Order, their goodneſs did not think fit to Execute; as if* (ſaith he) *they waited a time to be gracious to the* Iriſh *Nation.* The ſum of which, ſo far as I can make it hang together, is this, That the *Parliament* of *England* and the Authority under them in *Ireland*, hath been for theſe two years, ſpending their time, pains and treaſure about the work of *Transplantation*, and running all thoſe difficulties and hazzards that have attended the ſame, to no other end, but to bring the people of *Ireland* into more miſerie, that they might have an oportunity to ſhew mercie to them. Truly (if this have been their deſign) there will be a great many more WONDERERS at them beſides the *Diſcuſſor*; & I hope there is not the meaneſt *Iriſh* man, that is to remove into *Connaught*, who will have ſo little wit as to believe it: For they have had, and may have cauſe to judge the Authority in *Ireland* more ſerious in their proceedings with them. But I ſuppoſe the Gentleman was not ſerious upon this head; (*For* (comparing this with the cloſe of his Book,) *modeſtlie deſiring them to forbear what they cannot perform*) but think he rather intended it as a reproach upon Authority, he judging (as I ſuppoſe by the way he takes) the beſt means to ſettle *Ireland*, is to repreſent the Authority there, not onely oppreſſive,

oppreſſiive, but ridiculous; in regard that wiſdom, goodneſs and graciouſneſs here hinted to be in thoſe that ſit at the helm, (as he calls them) is much inconſiſtent with that cruelty, oppreſſion and other misgovernments, which (in the reſt of his Book) he labors to lay to their charge.

THen Thirdly, As to the proceedings that have been in *Ireland*, upon the buſineſs of *Transplantation*, ſince the arrival of thoſe Authorities and Inſtructions from the *Parliament* and *Council of State* as aforeſaid.

Upon the 12. of *September*, 1653. was a ſhort Declaration annexed to the aforeſaid Inſtructions, publiſhed by the Commiſſioners of *Parliament*, then at *Dublin*. Requiring their Miniſters under them, to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith publiſhed in their ſeveral Precincts.

And in *October* following, they again publiſhed a large Declaration, grounded upon the aforeſaid Act of *Parliament* and Inſtructions of the *Council of State*, with a further Act of *Parliament* confirming the ſame, wherein was not onely expreſſly required that notice ſhould be taken thereof, and obedience given thereunto: But divers further Rules and Inſtructions given to the ſeveral Miniſters under them, in each Precinct in *Ireland*, and eſpecially in *Connaught*; for the more orderly carrying on the work: not onely as to the intereſt of the Common-wealth, (as the Revenue and ſafety of the Nation, *&c.*) but alſo for the better encouragement of the people to be transplanted; both as to the ſecurity of their Corn in ground, and what other ſubſtance they ſhould leave behind them, from ſpoil and loſs; and alſo as to their journeying by the way, and accommodation there. After which were ſeveral ſupplemental Papers publiſhed, both as to the backing of this firſt Declaration, ſo far as it did extend, (which was onely to Proprietors and men in Arms) and alſo to eaſe it, where it might ſeem to bear hard upon any of them. It being much upon the hearts of thoſe in chief Authority in *Ireland*, to extend their power to the

ut no't length of their line, in a way of tenderneſs towards the people to be removed; though there might be ſome inconveniences hazzarded upon the Common-wealths part thereby, ſo far have they been from cruelty or ſeverity towards them upon this account. (as is unjuſtly charged upon them by the *Diſcuſſor.*)

For firſt, Though the *Parliament* in their Inſtructions, include all perſons within any of the Qualifications in the Act of Settlement: yet they in their Declaration thereupon, confine it to Proprietors of Lands and perſons who had been in actual Rebellion, or (to uſe their own words) that have contrived, adviſed, promoted, acted, or voluntarily aided, aſſiſted or abetted the Rebellion, Murthers, Maſſacres, *&c.* or have been in actual Arms in the ſaid Rebellion, *&c.* And leaſt any under thoſe Qualifications ſhould come to be ſufferers for want of diſtinction, they iſſued out Authority to ſeveral of the chief Officers of the Army, and other perſons of reputation and ability, to receive Petitions from any perſons within thoſe Rules, who had ought to offer in their own behalfs, either as to deſert from the Common-wealth, for particular Acts of favor or kindneſs ſhewn to *Engliſh* in their extremitie; or any other ſervice or teſtimony of the leſt true affection to the *Engliſh* intereſt, that it might not go unrequited. By which power many hundreds within the aforeſaid Rules, gained licence to ſtay, ſome for altogether, ſome for more or leſs time as they did deſerve, and their condition require. And in regard there were ſome perſons, who had done ſome particular good Offices to the *Engliſh* intereſt or people, and yet not ſo much as might deſerve a total exemption: Yet that even a cup of cold water might not go unrequited, given by the worſt of Enemies to the meaneſt friends, they obtained ſuſpenſion for conſiderable times, ſome more ſome leſs, with a proviſion for a ſpecial recommendation to the Commiſſioners for the diſpoſing of Lands to the tranſplanted people in *Connaught*, to take ſpecial care of them, as to their conveniency accommodation

dation and ſettlement; and beſides, a general proviſion made by the ſame Commiſſion, for all aged or decrepit ſickly perſons, that no ſuch, though they had been in Arms againſt us, might be put upon hard things. And (after all this) the generality of them (who had nothing to ſay, as to point of merit or disability of body) making complaint that they ſhould be great ſufferers in their Corn in ground and ſubſtance, if they were not permitted to look after their harveſt upon the places from whence they removed, obtained licence for their Wives and Families to continue upon their holdings till harveſt were in And after that, upon a ſecond Complaint that they could not diſpoſe of their Corn in ſo ſhort a time as was ſet them, but to their great loſs; they obtained a general licence until *December*; and ſince that again, complaining of the hardneſs of the ſeaſon of the year to travel in, they have their licences renewed until *March* next. It would ſwell into a volumn to mention the particular perſons to whom this tenderneſs hath been extended, from time to time. But theſe things thus generally hinted, as a brief narrative of the proceedings in *Ireland*, in the buſineſs of *Tranſplantation* being admitted to be true, (and if not credited, there are ſome thouſands of the natives of *Ireland*, beſides many hundreds employed in the Common wealths ſervice, can give their teſtimonies thereto) From what ground do you judge the *Diſcuſſor* can charge the Authority of *Ireland*, with ſuch mercileſneſs and cruelty, as that Book ſpeaks of and implies? Nay, there are ſome others, who fear the error will prove on the other hand, in the exerciſe of too much lenity and tenderneſs, towards a people that are likely enough to ill requite it, and take advantage thereby to put the work upon more difficulties. But if that ſhould be the fruit of the *Diſcuſſors* great affection to them, I doubt not (through Gods aſſiſtance) but in the end they would have as little cauſe to reward him for his ſervice, as they have their Prieſts, for ſtirring them up to the laſt Rebellion. However, they that have been hetherto exerciſed towards them

with ſo much tenderneſs and compaſſion (aiming ſinglely therein at their good) if they ſhould meet with that requital from them or any of them, I hope, they would with the more comfort and grounded Reſolution be encouraged in the diſcharge of their duties on the other hand. And if any on the contrary hand, ſhould take upon them to blame the proceedings of Authority herein, there is ſufficient reaſon to be ſhewn on that hand, to juſtify the prudent and tender proceedings that have been in this matter: But that would be here impertinent.

AND Fourthly, As to the work of *Tranſplantation* it ſelf (though it lies not upon the Authority there to ſhew any further reaſon for what they do therein, than what hath been before mentioned, *viz.* The diſcharge of their duties in putting in execution the Laws and Orders of thoſe whom they ſerve, yet) they have not been unwilling (but very ready) to admit to conſideration and debate the merit of the work it ſelf; and to hear and conſider of Objections upon any hand, that could be offered by any perſons, either upon a conſcientious or prudential account. And in order thereto, have appointed ſeveral ſolemn meetings, when not onely Officers of the Army and perſons in publick Truſt under them, have been called together to adviſe; but ſeveral godly Miniſters and other private Chriſtians, have been deſired to attend, to ſeek the Lord together with them, for direction in that work, and have accordingly attended and uſed their liberties to ſpeak their opinions of it with freedom, as the Lord hath informed their Judgements and perſwaded their conſciences therein. And I do not remember any of them that have manifeſted diſſatisfaction, or offered their Reaſons againſt the work it ſelf, ſo far as it hath hetherto been declared for, and proceeded in: But very many both godly and judicious perſons have done it on the other hand, as to its limitations and ſlow pace; yea, it hath been the diſpoſition of thoſe in chief Authority to lean moſt towards that hand

that

that was attended with leſt difficulties and hardſhips, upon the poor people concerned; from whence you may gather, This Gentleman is very ſingular in his judgment, which might a little plead with him for a more charitable opinion of his different minded friends, (as to their good meanings at leſt) though he ſhould have had reaſon on his ſide.

But thus having given you (to the beſt of my memorie) a true account of the proceedings of Authority in this matter; let us enquire into the weight and ſtrength of thoſe reaſons which the *Diſcuſſor* offers againſt the thing, and ſee what may be ſaid in anſwer thereto. And

Firſt, Take notice from what hath been before ſaid, That the general ſcope of the Diſcourſe whereupon that reaſon (which ſeems to be in it) chiefly hangs, is, *viz.* Several great Miſtakes. (if not worſe) For his Arguments are ſuit againſt a general *Tranſplantation* of the *Iriſh*; Whereas there is onely the Proprietors and men in Arms, declared to be transplanted; and when there ſhall as much reaſon appear for the *Tranſplantation* of the whole, as doth now for ſuch a part, it will be then more ſeaſonable for the *Diſcuſſor* to offer his Reaſons againſt it; and ſuch as ſhall be concerned in the doing thereof, to give their Reaſons for it: But as yet there is no ſuch thing in preparation, much leſs in practice.

The Second Miſtake, is his Arguments againſt a promiſcuous *Tranſplantation*, without reſpect to their merit or behaviour; which (as is before aſſerted) is not ſo: For there are ſeveral perſons *Iriſh Papiſts*, upon the account of their merit as aboveſaid, and different affection from the reſt, manifeſted to the *Engliſh* ſince the late Rebellion, who are wholy exempted from *Tranſplantation*, either as to their Eſtates or perſons; nay (as is before aſſerted) not any of them that could produce Teſtimony of their good will to the *Engliſh* intereſt, or leſt good office done to any *Engliſh* perſon in extremity, (upon the account of an *Engliſh*-man) but there is a mark of favor put upon him for it. Which

being admitted, the *Diſcuſſors Maxim* in Chriſtian Religion (in *pag.* 6. and 7.) is no ways intrenched upon by the work of *Transplantation*: But there is much ground to believe, his ſhooting ſuch poiſoned arrows againſt Authority, thus at the adventure; was not ſo much intended to heal the *Iriſh* Wounds, as to wound and weaken the *Engliſh* Government and intereſt there. But innocency is the beſt Armor againſt ſuch darts.

A third Miſtake, the *Diſcuſſor* grounds his Diſcourſe upon (as in *pag.* 7. to the 15.) is the principle upon which the things is done; as if *Tranſplantation* were principally propoſed as a puniſhment for Murder, or an avenging the bloud ſpilt in *Ireland*, by the Rebellion. In order to which, he takes much pains to prove, That after Juſtice is done upon capital Offendors & chief Ringleaders in a Rebellion or Maſſacre, that then the bodie of the people (or Commons, as he calls them) ſhould partake of mercie, *&c.* This Poſition without further troubling our ſelves with his proofs, may be admitted without any reflection upon the work of *Tranſplantation*, or the Authority impoſing or executing the ſame. For the *Parliament* of *England*, in the ſame Act of Settlement in which they make Proviſion of a liberty to transplant, doth there determine and appoint what the puniſhment of Murderers and chief Ringleaders ſhould be, excepting of them therein from pardon both for life and Eſtate, *&c.* And doth therein (in *pag.* 2.) Declare, *To the end all the people in that Nation, may know that it is not the intention of the* Parliament *to extirpate the whole Nation, but that mercy and pardon both as to life and eſtate ſhould be extended to all Huſbandmen, Plow-men, Laborers, Artificers, and others of the inferior ſort*, as is thereafter declared, *&c.* And in the Inſtructions for Transplanting, before mentioned, (*pag.* 2.) they ſay thus. *And to the end all perſons in* Ireland, *who have right to Articles or to any favor and mercie held forth by any the Qualifications in the Act of Parliament, intituled*, An Act for the Settling of *Ireland*; *may enjoy the benefit intended to them*,

them, and every of them reſpectively by the ſaid Act: It is thought fit and reſolved, That all and every the perſons aforeſaid, ſhall before the firſt day of May, 1654. *remove and tranſplant themſelves into* Connaught, *&c.* Is there in all this one word tending to ground the *Tranſplantation* upon principles in the extream of puniſhments or avenging of Bloud: Surely if a perſon in a work of this weight ſhall ſo groſsly miſtake in the very eſſentials and principles, upon which his Diſcourſe is founded; there is little reaſon to expect ſoundneſs and truth in things more circumſtantial and inferior. But if I ſhould proceed to take notice of all the reſt of his Miſtakes, Abſurdities and Impertinencies as to the thing, with thoſe unjuſt and ſcandalous invectives againſt Authority in his lines, I ſhould both have tired my ſelf in writing and you in reading thereof, to little purpoſe.

But for the further clearing up the Juſtice and Rationality of this work, admit it in ſome degree to be done upon the account of puniſhment, (which in a ſence may be admitted) for had they never offended, they had never been liable thereto. Therefore conſider what puniſhment it was they did incur by their offence, which will be the better done

Firſt, By conſidering the offence it ſelf, which was the moſt horrid, cauſleſs Rebellion and bloudy Maſſacre that hath been heard of, in theſe latter ages of the World, and the Offendors not particular perſons or parties of the *Iriſh* Nation, (for that had been another caſe) but the whole *Iriſh* Nation it ſelf, conſiſting of Nobility, Gentry, Clergie, and Commonalty are all engaged as one Nation in this quarrel, to root out and wholy extirpate all *Engliſh* Proteſtants from amongſt them, who had (for the moſt of them) as legal and juſt right to their eſtates and Intereſts in *Ireland*, as themſelves, many of them poſſeſſing nothing but what they had lawfully purchaſed and dearly paid for, from the *Iriſh*; And others of them poſſeſſing by right of Grant from the Crown of *England* time out of mind, what they did enjoy; and the *Iriſh* Nation all that time enjoying equal priviledges with the

the *Engliſh*, if not much more, (as the *Diſcuſſor* confeſſeth *pag.* the 20.) *The Lawyers were* Iriſh, *the Jurors* Iriſh, *moſt of the Judges* Iriſh, *and the major part of the* Parliament, Iriſh; *and in all diſputes between* Engliſh *and* Iriſh *the* Iriſh *were ſure of the favor*: (as he calls it) So that they were under no provocation or oppreſſion under the *Engliſh* Government, at that time when the bloudy Rebels in 1641. committed that inhumane Maſſacre, upon a company of poor, unarmed, peaceable, harmleſs people, living quietly amongſt them, wherein neither age nor ſex were ſpared; but from the old man ſtooping for age, to the babe new born, were their cruelties extended; Nay, the Infants in the womb were not ſecure from their mercileſs butchery, but even the women with child were ript up, virgins deflowered, and wives raviſhed in the ſight of their Parents and Husbands; and then all deſtroyed together by the moſt inhuman cruelties that could be deviſed. And not onely *Engliſh* people, but even *Engliſh* Cattle and Houſes were deſtroyed for their being of an *Engliſh* kind, and all this (as I ſaid before) without the leſt provocation. Yet this bloudy inhumane act, with all its aggravations, was eſpouſed by this people as a National quarrel, and a War waged thereupon, and Councils conſtituted for the management thereof, who were owned and ſubmitted unto by the body of the people, as their ſupream legislative Authority. In which rebellious practices and cruel War, they inſiſted to the ruining of that flouriſhing Nation, and making of it near a waſte Wilderneſs, thereby neceſſitating *England* in the time of its own troubles, to maintain an Army in *Ireland*, to preſerve a footing there; and at laſt forced them to ſend over and maintain a potent Army, greatly exhauſting their Treaſure and people, to recover their intereſts out of the hands of this bloudy Generation, and bring the Offendors to condign puniſhment; who had confidence (notwithſtanding what is before mentioned) to diſpute the ſurrender of what they had ſo badly come by, to the utmoſt, from place to place; *Ireland* having

having cost *England* more money and men to recover it, than it is or ever is like to be worth to them, many a time over: And for *England* now at the close of all, to heal up this wound slightly, and to leave the interest and people of *England* in *Ireland* at as eminent uncertainties as ever, whereby the posterity of this present generation (if not themselves) shall after a few years, come to be at the mercy and disposition of this bloudy people again (except a few inwalled Towns and Garrisons) if it may be by any lawful and prudent means prevented, I judge those who are wise and ingenious (of the *Irish* themselves) would acknowledge it a weakness and great neglect in those, in whose hands God hath placed the power, much more all true hearted *English*-men, who are so much concerned therein. And therefore it remains now to prove that the work of *Transplantation* (at least so far as it is at present declared) is the most probable means to secure the present *English* interest in *Ireland*; and to obtain one there able to secure it self, without such excessive charge upon *England* as hetherto hath been, by men and money to effect the same.

And for the better making out of this

First, Consider wherein the advantage of the *Irish* above the *English* consisted in the first breaking out of the late horrid Rebellion, whereby those many thousands of the *English* people then inhabiting in that countrey, became so inconsiderable, either as to the preservation of their own lives, or the publick interest of *England* there; which chiefly proceeded from their not being embodied or from their not cohabiting together, whereby they might have been in a capacity to embody, they being scattered up and down throughout the whole Nation, here and there a few families; being thereby wholy subjected to the mercy of the rabble *Irish*, to the general destruction and ruin of them, before the *Irish* had either Army, Arms, or Ammunition, more than Skeins and Staves; whereas had those *English* that were then in *Ireland* been cohabiting in one intire

plantation, or in ſeveral plantations, ſo they had been but intire Colonies amongſt themſelves, and maſters of the Countrey in which they lived, the *Iriſh* would hardly have had confidence to have attempted a War, much leſs a Maſſacre upon them; for then, before they could have made any conſiderable attempt upon the *Engliſh*, they muſt have been ſomwhat formidable themſelves, which they could hardly have attained unto, without diſcovering their plot, and thereby loſing their deſign; but in caſe the could have effected they raiſing a formidable force, before they had been diſcovered, yet it would have been a difficult buſineſs for them to have fallen upon all the *Engliſh* Plantations at once: or wholely to ſurprize any one of them, more than that out Quarter upon which they firſt fell, from whence the whole Plantation would forthwith receive the *Allarm*; and either be in a capacitie to draw together to make preſent reſiſtance, or otherwiſe, to betake themſelves with the chief of their ſubſtance, to ſuch ſtrong holds or Garriſons as the Plantation did afford. And there to put themſelves in a poſture to defend their Countrey, and reſcue their Friends and ſubſtance from their Enemies; and further upon the firſt aſſault of the *Iriſh* upon any ſuch *Engliſh* Plantation or any part thereof, the whole *Engliſh* Plantations with the *Engliſh* Army in all parts would forthwith receive the *Allarm*, and put themſelves into a poſture of defence, which in that caſe they might have done, without much hazard or difficulty to their perſons, though their ſubſtance in ſome parts might have been hazarded by their quitting their particular habitations to draw together, though not much, if their Plantations had been ſo ſettled upon the Sea coaſts, as that the *Iriſh* could fall but upon the out Quarter thereof, they might then probably have preſerved all their lives, ſtock, and portable goods, by driving and bringing them within, or under the ſhelter of their Garriſons or *Rendivous*. As for inſtance, the Baronie of *Ards* in the County of *Down* in the Province of *Ulſter*, which being intirely planted with

Britiſh

British people, did preserve themselves by keeping Guards upon their Frontiers, when all the Countrey about them was wasted and ruined; and in all former Wars in *Ireland*, until themselves degenerated from their native Countrey and Interest, the like security hath been enjoyed by the *English* Pale in the County of *Dublin*, &c. and *English* Baronies in the Countie of *Wexford*, by the same means.) Whereas by their promiscuous and scattered inhabiting amongst the *Irish* who were in all places far the greater number, and in most a hundred to one, they were even as sheep prepared for the slaughter, that the very cripples and beggers of several of the Countreys where they lived, if they rose against them, were able to destroy them; for they were neither in a capacity to resist nor flee; being in the midst of their Enemies and far from their friends, some of them having a hundred, some sixtie, some forty, few less than ten Miles to travel, through their Enemies Countrey, where every Bridge and Pass was beset with Rebels to destroy them, that they were not onely without help but hope in most places, having no other refuge but to flee to the chief of the *Irish* in their Countrey for succor, who (in several places) set their Cow-boys and foot-boys to murder and torture them, and would stand by and make sport of it themselves. And others of the *Irish* who were more civil would send them away with pretended convoys, who usually murdered them by the way; though some there were of the *Irish* Gentry, (whose kindness (I hope) either hath or will be rewarded both by God and man) who did really use their endeavors and interest to preserve *English* lives, by whose means some few did escape (like *Job*'s Messengers) to bring the News of the Destruction of the rest of their Neighbors.

And if this were the condition of the *English* in *Ireland* at the beginning of the Rebellion, and the chief outward cause of their sad destruction, their promiscuous scattered cohabitation amongst the *Irish*; Then surely it must be the main duty of the Authority of *England* at this day to contrive

trive and use their utmost endeavors to prevent the like sad destruction for the future, which will hardly be provided against, without removing this main cause beforementioned; and therefore I would propose (as essential to the security of the *English* interest and people in *Ireland*) That the *English* inhabitants in that Nation should live together in distinct Plantations or Colonies, separated from the *Irish*; And (so far as the natural advantages of the Countrey, or their own ability will afford it) to maintain Frontier Garrisons upon Lines or Passes, for the security of every Plantation; And to admit no more *Irish* Papists (that they had not eminent grounds to believe were or would be faithful to the *English* interest) to live within them, than what they might have as visibly at their mercy and dispose when any new disturbance shall arise, as the *Irish* had them, at the breaking out of the late Rebellion: And it is my Judgement, it would not be safe to admit in any *English* Plantation, above the fifth part to be *Irish* Papists, or any of them that are late deemed Converts to the Protestant Religion, either in the capacity of Tenants or Servants; unless in such cases where two Justices of the Peace with two godly Ministers of that *English* Plantation should receive satisfaction of their being truely converted to the Protestant Religion, and *English* civil Manners and Customs.

For though the Lord hath been pleased so far to own the *English* Cause and interest in the late War, that they have been able to engage them with far less numbers, that one hath put ten & ten a hundred to flight, yet in the work of surprising and unexpected Assaults and Inrodes upon the *English*, the *Irish* have usually been more expert and vigilant: For the *Irish* are naturally a timerous, suspicious, watchful people; and on the other hand, the *English* are a confident, credulous, careless people, as our daily experience in *Ireland* teacheth us. And therefore if their numbers should be near equal, that advantage which they would have of their *Irish* Neighbors to correspond with them and fall into their Assistance

ſtance would much further their encouragement to attempt mi chief upon the *Engliſh*, with or amongſt whom they lived, though they were far leſs numbers.

And if this be admitted, That it is eſſential in order to the ſafety of the *Engliſh* intereſt and people, that the *Engliſh* Plantations ſhould conſiſt of many more *Engliſh* than *Iriſh*, as aboveſaid; then there is a neceſſity, in order thereto, that ſome of the *Iriſh* ſhould be removed out of ſome parts of *Ireland* to make way for the *Engliſh* Plantations: And if ſo, then a *Tranſplantation* muſt be admitted to be eſſential, in order to the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* Intereſt and People there. So that now the Queſtion muſt be confined to the extent and manner of this *Tranſplantation*.

Whether it ſhould be a total and univerſal, or a partial *Tranſplantation?* And if but a part, What part or which part?

And Secondly, As to the manner, Whether all at one time? Or all to one place?

To the Firſt I Anſwer, That ſo far as the *Diſcuſſor* or my ſelf are capable to judge (who are but private men, and not acquainted with the myſteries and ſecrets of State) The buſineſs of a total and univerſal *Tranſplantation*, is out of queſtion, as was ſaid before, all publick papers relating to *Tranſplantation* confining that work to Proprietors and men in Arms; and therefore that I may not (as the *Diſcuſſor* hath done) ſpend my pains in beating the air, I ſhall onely ſpeak to that part of this firſt Queſtion, which is at preſent in queſtion, *viz.* What part? and How many? and What ſort of perſons are fit to be transplanted?

Firſt, As to the number that is required to remove or transplant, I judge, a leſs number than what is intended and appointed, is not ſafe, if ſo little; For the Proprietors and intereſſed perſons in Lands, with all relating to them required to remove with them, cannot be rationally judged near the twentieth part of the people of *Ireland*, for the Lands of *Ireland* were generally in the hands of the noble men and

chief Gentry (who are for the most part excepted persons from life and Estate, or under Banishment, by the Act of Settlement; the remaining part of them being very inconsiderable either as to number or interest: And for persons that have been in Arms, though there be too many of them still in *Ireland*, yet much the greater part are transported into forrein Nations; so that though it be hard to determin the number of these two sorts of persons, yet any man that knows the state of *Ireland*, must acknowledge, they are probably so inconsiderable, that they will not be missed nor discerned, as to their numbers, in the Counties from whence they remove, further than as one friend may want another; and for such of their friends, Tenants, or Servants (not within the Rules) who will voluntarily go along with them, the using force to stay the later would be much more hard than the removing the former: So that as to the numbers, (doubtless if any at all) it is not rational to think of less than these two sorts of persons, will amount unto.

But secondly, As to the persons themselves, Why these two sorts of persons rather than others?

Men in Army.

Answer. First, For the Men in Arms, I judge there is not much scruple. This one Reason (if there were no other) might serve, That they have had their hands imbrewed in the bloud of the *English* in the late inhumane Rebellion of *Ireland*, where the barbarousness and inhumanities that were usually exercised in the *Irish* Army, have so inured them to treachery and cruelty, that they are much unfitted for living in any civiliz'd humane society, much more with the *English*, against whom they are so exasperated; and besides, many of them have a great influence over the people amongst whom they reside, that next unto the Priest and the Landlord, the Souldier is esteemed, and therefore the same Reasons that may be given for the removing the Priest and the Landlord, will reach the Souldier; besides, their extraordinary fitness above others to carry on, and much more to execute any treacherous design against the

English

English, they having not onely attained to much more hardiness and boldness than the rest of the Natives (through use and custom) but are withall much more skilful in the *Tory*-War than the rest, they being generally good guides in the Bogs and Mountains, and experienced where and when to take their advantages to do mischief.

Object. But will it not be more dangerous (considering they are a people so able to do harm in a way of War) to gather them altogether in one place?

Answer. Unto such as are not acquainted with the way of the *Irish* War, it might seem so: But (as the *Discussor* acknowledgeth, *page* 25.) *The* English *Souldiers are more afraid of* Tories *than of Armies, and Woods and Bogs than Camps, where it will be harder to find them than vanquish them.* And therefore there is nothing more desirable to the Peace of *Ireland*, than to have all persons therein of Rebellious Principles and active spirits, either banished or otherwise confined to one or some few places, that they may know where to provide against them, and keep a watch over them, which will not onely tend much to the peace of those parts from whence they are removed, but also enable *England* to preserve their Interest in *Ireland* upon much less charge; for ten or twenty of these persons turning *Tories* in those parts where they are acquainted, shall require as much force to attend them, and preserve the Countrey from them: as twenty times their number shall do, when confined to a little circuit. So that (while we leave them in a capacity to be skulking *Tories*) we play our game in *Irish* with them, (wherein lies their excellencie and skill) but bring them into a bodie and confine them into small circuits together, (that if they will be *Torying*, they may be *Torying* upon one another; or otherwise if they have a mind to try their strength, they may be forced to embodie,) then you are in *English* with them, wherein (upon the account of men) you have much the advantage, (as experience teacheth.)

No danger where they

But

But (saith the *Discussor*) *This is the way to have* Tories *to transplant the* Irish; *against which* (saith he) *they have* ('T is strange *pag.* 27.) *as great a resentment, as against loss of Estate, yea even death it self*, &c.

He might have left out his *Parenthesis* ('T is STRANGE) For it is not STRANGE they should, especially such as are most intelligent and foreseeing among them, who consider and esteem their National Interest; For they discern well, that the business of *Transplantation* doth more lay the ax to the root of the tree of their future hopes of recovering their lost ground, as to that, than the whole fourteen years War hath done without it. And therefore (if there were no more Arguments to prove the great concernment of it, (as to the *English* Interest) the *Irish's* great dislike of it were sufficient, for it cannot be a personal or particular suffering that can so much affect them (for one hundred a year in *Connaught*, is as good as one hundred a year in *Leinster*) but it is the National Interest, more than their particulars, that they see in danger hereby, added to that their unwillingness to quit the possession of their ancient inheritances, and to be settled upon other mens Lands in *Connaught*, where it is like they suspect such welcom, as they will bid the Souldiers and Adventurers upon their Lands; Some such nicities as these are (added to the main business) may trouble them: But as to their particular subsistance and livelyhood, they do believe (without doubt) they may and shall live as comfortably and plentifully in *Connaught*, as elswhere in *Ireland*, after they are settled.

But how (saith the *Discussor*) *if they will not go, but turn* Tories, *&c?*

Truly if I were convinced there were impossibilities or desperate hazards attending them, as to their beings, or probable comfortable beings, I should be loth to have a hand in forcing them: But if it be their dram of Rebellious bloud or fit of Sullenness (which the *Discussor* prophesies of in *pag.* 25.) That alone is attended with sufficient Argu-

ments

ments to adviſe it may be put to the tryal and that ſpeedily, before any more of the Army be disbanded; for if the buſineſs of *Transplantation* be a ſufficient quarrel to engage them in a War again ſo ſoon, they will not long want matter of equal weight with that, to pick a quarrel, and it's like, when they may be better provided and we worſe: For if *Ireland* be not *Transplantation* proof at preſent, there is little ground to judge it will be long a quiet habitation for *Engliſh*. And therefore (though War is to be avoided, if poſſible, by all good and ſafe means, yet) if they have a mind to it, better now than afterwards. And therefore there is much more danger (in my opinion) not to do it, than to do it upon that account.

Qu. *But though there may ſeem ſome reaſon for tranſplanting the Souldier, What reaſon is there the Landlord, or* (as they are called) *Proprietors in Lands ſhould be tranſplanted, more than the Tenant, qua Landlord or Proprietor?*

Anſ. The being a Landlord or Proprietor, ſinglely conſidered as ſuch, is no fault; neither is there any proceedings in the buſineſs of *Transplantation* that can give reaſon for any diſintereſſed ingenuous perſon to conclude, any man ſuffers upon that account, for then all *Iriſh* Papiſts being Landlords or Proprietors of Lands, ſhould have been transplanted of courſe without diſtinction; and if that were intended, of what uſe is that care and pains that hath been taken to diſcriminate? (as is before mentioned) Therefore no perſon is (by the Act and Inſtructions of *Parliament* for *Transplantation*, or any Order ſince made in *Ireland* in the obſervance of them) to be transplanted, but ſuch who are within ſome of the Qualifications therein mentioned, and do challenge an intereſt and propriety in ſuch part of their Lands as the Act gives them, by which challenge they do give judgement againſt themſelves, (by the tenor of that Act for Settlement) that they have lived in *Ireland* ſince the beginning of the War, and have not manifeſted their conſtant good affection to the *Parliament* of *England*, during that time, for which they have forfeited all that intereſt any ſuch of them had in Lands in *Ireland*, (in the judgement of the *Parliament* declared in that Act.) And as it was in the power of the *Parliament* to appoint what part of their Eſtates (ſo forfeited) they ſhould enjoy: (as an act of favor and grace from them) So was it equally in their power to aſſign, what place in *Ireland* they ſhould have ſuch

part of their forfeited Eſtates ſet out unto them in, where it might moſt conſiſt with the good ſettlement, and preſervation of the *Engliſh* Intereſt there; and for ſuch Proprietors of Lands in *Ireland*, as will put themſelves upon the proof of their conſtant good affection (as I judge ſeveral will do) I am well aſſured the Authority there, will readily admit the ſame, and will be ſo far from transplanting ſuch as ſhall (by ſuch legal tryal) acquit themſelves of their ſuppoſed delinquencie againſt the State, that they will rather rejoice there is any of that Nation that have been ſo faithful, as to preſerve themſelves for fit objects of their ſpecial favor and reſpect.

Obj. *But are there not many others that are no Proprietors, who have been equally guilty with them, and doth not that favor of partiality in the doing of Juſtice?*

Anſ. The thing it ſelf may be granted, and yet no partiality in the adminiſtration of Juſtice admitted; For it is one thing to be a reſpecter of perſons in acts of juſtice, (whereby one perſon ſhall come to bear more than his ſhare in puniſhment, and others leſs; or to receive leſs than his right in juſtice, and others more and another thing to extend in acts of grace & favor (which is the preſent caſe) to ſome more and others leſs: And therefore ſaith the Scripture, *Why ſhould thine eye be evil becauſe mine is good?* For if the Authority might juſtly have transplanted the whole, the ſuſpenſion or exemption of any part doth neither wrong; eſpecially when the Reaſons and Aims that lead to the difference bear a publick ſtamp, and is in order to the better ſettlement and ſafety of the Nation.

Qu. *What are thoſe publick Reaſons and aims that may direct to tranſplant the Proprietor rather than the Tenant?*

Anſ. Firſt, Therein may be ſome thing ſaid as to matter of merit, wherein the Proprietors have generally deſerved to ſuffer more than the Tenant and common Husbandman; for they have generally been in a capacity to do the *Iriſh* better ſervice, and the *Engliſh* more miſchief; for next unto the Clergy and Souldiery, the Proprietors were the Pillars of that Common-wealth of the *Iriſh* before mentioned: Who as a nation or bodie of people eſpouſed the Quarrel of thoſe bloudy miſcreants that murdered the *Engliſh* in the firſt year of the War. And in all communities and bodies of people, there muſt be ſeveral members each one acting in his place,

in

in order to the good of [illegible], or else the whole could not subsist. And therefore *Paul* (using the same *Simile*, 1 *Cor.* 12. 17.) saith, *If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing?* So (I may say) If the whole bodie of the *Iriſh* had been Souldiers, or publick Miniſters, where had been their maintainance and ſupport? So that the Proprietors differed from the men in Arms, as *David*'s men did, who ſtaid by the ſtuf, from the others who followed the purſuit. And had they returned in like manner with ſucceſs, they would have expected at their hands an equal ſhare in the booty: So it is not their having Lands that is the fault, but the misimproving that intereſt and ability which thoſe Lands gave them above their poor neighbors, to the greater publick dammage and ſuffering of the *Engliſh* Intereſt. For it may be as well alledged that *Jeffry Barron* and others of their chief headpieces, ſuffered for being wiſe men, as to ſay, upon this account) Proprietors ſuffer for being landed men; for as it is probable (if the perſons before mentioned had had leſs wit or ability to ſerve the *Iriſh* Intereſt) they had been unhanged; ſo it may (on the other hand) be granted, if the Proprietors had had no Land, they had not been transplanted. And yet the Wit of the one and the Lands of the other is not the proper cauſe of either of their ſufferings, but the abuſe of both.

But beſides this Argument of their different evil merit or deſert, proportionat to their different Intereſt and ability, there are ſeveral other Arguments to be offered, to juſtify the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the thing. As

Firſt, You will hereby in an ordinary way break, or (at leſt) much weaken and limit that great ſpreading Intereſt of the *Iriſh*, (*viz.*) Their ſpreading Septs, which have been hetherto the very ſeed ſpots and nurſeries of all faction and Rebellion, and (withall) the preſervers of all their old, heatheniſh, wicked Cuſtoms and Habits, which are like the *Humane*, *Jewiſh* and *Popiſh* Traditions, (though generally of a more wicked nature and tendencie) recommended from father to ſon, and ſo rivited into them by the reputation of Antiquity, that there is little hopes of reclaiming them, while thoſe Septs continue; and therefore the transplanting the Proprietors will remove the heads and chief of the Septs from the body: For though many who have been in Arms, *&c.* will go along with them, yet all (and likely the greateſt part) will not.

Which the *Diſcuſſor* himſelf (in *pag.* 23.) acknowledgeth in theſe very words. *It is evidently*, ſaith he, *for the ſecurity of the* Engliſh *and* Engliſh *Intereſt*, *to divide the* Iriſh *one from another*, *eſpecially the Commonalty from the Chiefs*. And ſo in *pag.* 22. to the ſame purpoſe. Which thing is done by this work of *Transplantation*, which he writes all theſe invectives againſt. But contradictions do beſt ſuit with that matter which flows from miſtakes and prejudice, and conſiſts of falſhoods ond ſlanders,

Secondly, Where the Septs do not extend, yet there is generally ſuch a dependence of the Tenant upon the Landlord, that they are as much at their beck as their menial Servants, the Landlord not uſually receiving penny Rent, but ſheaf, proviſion and ſervice for their Lands, beſides thoſe other ties they have upon one another, by their *Foſterings* and *Goſſippings*, *&c.* Which are uſually as much obliging amongſt them as their natural Relations; and the Landlord (as much out of policy as principle) labors to preſerve theſe things amongſt the people, as the greateſt means of their intereſt in them. And as the removing the Proprietor doth in an ordinary way remove, or (at leſt) weaken the intereſt of the ruling or leading part of them over the Common people, whereby *Ireland* both as to its intereſt, ſtrength and manners, will be reduced to le s than the fourth part of the former extent of that Nation; ſo doth it open a dore and prepare the way for all that good both to ſoul and body, which the *Diſcuſſor* ſeems ſo much to deſire for the poor natives of that Nation, without which it is unlikely to be effected by ordinary means. For hereby the whole bodie of the poor laboring, quiet people of the Nation, will be immediately under the influence, education and countenance of the *Engliſh* Proprietor or Planter, and from under the threatening awing influence of his old Landlord or Maſter, and may thereby (through Gods bleſſing upon the good endeavors of the Government) be reclamed from all their evil Cuſtoms and lewd courſes which they are overſpread with, and embrace both the Religion, manners, Laws and Language of the *Engliſh* Nation, (in Gods time) as the greateſt outward mercie they enjoy.

Beſides the making way and giving encouragement to the Souldiers, Adventurers, and other Proteſtant Planters to plant their Lands with *Engliſh*, and ſettle themſelves upon them, which not one

one (of many) would be encouraged to do, if (every time when he comes to ſee his Land) the ancient *Iriſh* Proprietors ſhall ſalute him upon it with a ſad ſtory of their ſufferings and hard uſage, to have his inheritance taken from him and given to other men; nay the poſterity of that *Iriſh* Proprietor ſhall hardly ever paſs by the *Engliſh* mans dwelling without curſing of him and his ſucceſſors in their hearts, and wiſhing for a time to recover their own again. And this was evidenced in this laſt Rebellion, where the Rebels poſſeſt themſelves of the *Engliſh* mens Lands and houſes (with all they could find upon it) as their rightful inheritances, wrongfully diſpoſed of from their Anceſtors, though they had been out of the poſſeſſion of them for ſeveral hundred years.

Beſides, If any *Engliſh* men were ſo bad natured as they could hear their murmurings and complainings, yet few of them (after they come to diſcern their danger, and the hazard of all their coſt and improvements upon their waſte Lands) would be ſo ſtupid as to continue the hazard of their perſons and families with their poſterities and eſtates, upon a place ſo near a neighborhood, that (upon Principles) were bound to hate and contrive the ruin of them and theirs, while they lived there. For a little experience would convince our new Planters, (if what former ages have met withall be not ſufficient) That it is ridiculous for an *Engliſh* man (as a private Country man) though he would keep none but *Engliſh* about him, to expect to overtop his *Iriſh* neighbors of equal eſtate to himſelf. For the *Iriſh* Proprietor, that plants with *Iriſh*, ſhall (upon the ſame Land) maintain four times the number of people to be at his beck, that the other is able to do, and yet be as rich a man at the years end. And if he keep *Iriſh* about him, he is then dayly at their mercie, (if the leſt diſturbance or encouragement be given, as was obſerved before.)

But laſtly, It will not onely be an encouragement to particular perſons and Plantations of *Engliſh*, but (through the bleſſing of the Lord) in ſome proceſs of time, may make theſe three Provinces wholely *Brittiſh*, and thereby enable the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland* to ſupport it ſelf, which hath hetherto wholely depended upon *England* for ſupplies, (to its great charge and damage) and the hazard of bringing over *Engliſh* men, bred up in *England*, to endure the hardſhips of War in *Ireland* is very great, their bodies

at first coming will not endure it, hardly one of six, lives: Whereas to bring over *English* to plant is no such danger, for they not being liable to the hardships of War, but accommodating themselves with whole some diet and warm cloaths, not one of twenty of them usually miscarries. So that hereby instead of having it a grave and place of destruction to *English* men (as hetherto) it may become a nurserie and breeder of *English*, not onely to supply its own use, but to serve the Interest of *England* elsewhere, if occasion should be.

Nay, we are not altogether without presidents of this work in *Ireland*, The wisdom of our ancestors may afford us some countenance therein, in the former Wars and conquest the *English* have gained in *Ireland*, after which (in order to secure their Interest they had obtained) they have left us some footsteps or presidents of *Transplantation*, (as a thing they judged useful in order thereto) As witness the several Cities of *Dublin*, *Droghedah*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Limerick*, *Galway*, *&c.* Which have been intirely planted with *English* Colonies, and the present *Irish* inhabitants we found in them, are generally of an ancient *English* extract, though degenerated from the manners and Interest of their Ancestors, native Country, and People.

But especially the *English* Pale were anciently inhabited and planted with *English*, retaining much of the ancient language to this day, (besides the *English* Baronies in the County of *Wexford*) which continue in several things, much different from the rest of the *Irish* people, which inferior or smaller pieces of this work may point out unto us. It hath been before this judged needful; and doubtless if they had then obtained the same opportunity and abilitie to transplant Provinces, as they had to transplant Counties, they would have made their *English* Pale of larger extent; For compare their opportunity and power to ours, doubtless their *Transplantation* far exceeded what is now intended. Much more might be added upon this point, to shew that the present persons pitched upon to be transplanted are the fittest, and that their *Transplantation* doth answer many publick ends, and is essential to the present and future good settlement of *Ireland*, and security of the Interest of *England* there.

The last and great Objection the *Discussor* makes against this work

work, is, *The impossibility of it*; which is a very considerable Objection, if the Gentleman had produced any reasons to prove it. (For impossibilities by wise men ought not to be undertaken) But making search for them, I could find nothing offered to prove that, more than what may be supposed to be implyed in *page* 25. Where he seems to imply these two things.

First, *That the Irish may have a dram of Rebellious blood left in them, and will not go.*

And Secondly, *The power and strength of* England *is but as a Scare-Crow, (a hat upon a white stick) onely fit to drive Geese,* &c. And therefore not able to make them go.

If the first of these prove true, it may imply a difficulty, but not an impossibility; for when there were many drams of Rebellious blood in the veins of that people, it pleased the Lord (who is the subduer of Rebels) to enable the present Army in *Ireland* to be an Instrument in his hand to let it out, and bring them under the power of *England*, as at this day.

And as to the second part, the same Instruments in the same hand, depending upon the same God for strength, have no reason (more than their own sinfulness and unworthiness) to doubt but they may be as able to compel their obedience to this work, (so essentially desirable in order to the future good and safety of *Ireland*) as they have been hetherto to reduce them from their great strength and pride they found in them, to the condition they are now brought unto and as little compassion as the *Discussor* would seem to allow in the hearts of the present persons in Power in *Ireland*, towards the natives there, I hope the sence of so sad a judgement, as a new Rebellion must necessarily bring upon that poor people, (if God should give them up to such a spirit of stupidity, as to work their own destruction thereby) would much more affect them, than any sence of their own danger, or the danger of the Interest they serve, by any thing they could do against it, more than obstruct the present Settlement: And as I do believe the Jesuits and Priests in the beginning of the late Rebellion, did profess as much affection and compassion towards the people of *Ireland*, when they instigated and stirred them up thereto, as the *Discussor* doth or can do in his incitement and encouragements to a new Rebellion, so (am I well satisfied, in the close of the business, if they

they have a mind to put it upon tryal) they will have as much cause to bewail their unhappiness and misery therein; and the latter shall deserve as little thanks from them as the former, in the issue. Which one Answer shall serve these two Objections.

Obj. But it may be further objected, (which some of the *Discussor's* Arguments seem to imply) *Though there be a power in* Ireland *to compel their obedience: yet there is no possibility in them to obtain subsistance in their Journey, or when they come there to support themselves and families: So that it is equal to them to hazard their own Destruction in disobedience, as by obeying to perish.*

Ans. If this were the true state of the Case there were much in it, but let us consider it. Is this the first time that persons have removed from one part of a Nation to another? And is that so impossible a thing, that it doth not consist with the beings of such as shall so do? I pray you consider what it is then to remove from one Nation to another, if that be so, what will becom of all the *English* that are expected from thence to plant *Ireland?* (who, I hope, will be far greater numbers than the transplanted *Irish*) many of whom must travel much farther by Land, than most of them can do, (besides a hazardous, chargable, and troublesom voyage by sea) added to which those difficulties and hazards that attend strangers in a strange Country, more than what doth a people in their own native Land: And yet I hope (we have sufficient experience, and some thousands of living Witnesses) that it is consistent with their being, and well-being too; and hath proved to many (if not to most) for their much better being, though (it is to be supposed) that such *English* as live on the North side of the River *Thames*, (though many Miles distant from it) would judge it a far less difficulty to remove their habitation into *Surry* or *Kent*, than it is to remove into *Ireland*, though the latter be very possible and practicable, (as is before minded) yet the former is as much as the Irish *Transplantation* extends unto. Nay we might bring (for instance to prove the possibility of this work) those many thousands of *English*, *Dutch* and *French* that have transplanted themselves into the *America* Plantations, and yet are all in being and well-being too (through Gods mercy.) And therefore I judge it is no such impossible thing, as the *Discussor* would seem to make it, to transplant the Irish, but it may be done with much consistency

to

to their beings and well-beings, (if themſelves be not acceſſary to the contrary.

Beſides, if to this be added thoſe tender regards that have been (as is before minded) to the condition, age, and ſex of ſuch as are to be transplanted; who have not been of a ſodain hurried away, without reſpect to their ſeveral conditions, but the method and timing of their remove, hath had a ſpecial ey to their good and preſervation therein; inorder to which they have had a full years time to diſpoſe of what they have in the places they remove from, to their beſt advantage; and withall thereby opportunity to provide Habitations and needful accommodations, at the places they are removed to, and another whole Summer before them further to provide for themſelves: Which ſufficiently evidences the perſons in preſent Power in *Ireland*, not to have that cruel diſpoſition in them towards the Iriſh Natives, as the *Diſcuſſor* maliciouſly labors to inſinuate; but much the contrary: For there are many reaſons of State (in order to publick ſafety and Settlement) that would have called for more ſeverity, in order to expedition in that work, if compaſſion and tenderneſs towards the perſons concerned therein, had not prevailed againſt them. So that not onely to the thing it ſelf, but as to the Management and Method of it, the leſt of the former caſes inſtanced in being attended with equal, and moſt of them with much greater difficulties than this; and therefore not impoſſible, but as rationally and ſafely practicable as any of the former caſes.

So that I judge there hath been nothing offered by the *Diſcuſſor*, againſt the work of *Tranſplantation* (that bears any weight and doth not of it ſelf fall to the ground, by admitting thoſe eſſential and groſs miſtakes in him, before mentioned) but hath been fully anſwered either as to publick good, ſecurity of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants and their Intereſt, or as to the poſſibility and practicableneſs of the thing, without ſuch eminent hazard of deſtruction and ruin to the perſons concerned. Which are the principal Heads he inſiſts upon; onely as to that concerning Religion, where he endeavers to hold forth, That the not tranſplanting the *Iriſh* would no ways hazard the perverting of the *Engliſh*, and would be much

in order to the converting of the *Irish*, which the *Transplantation* (ſaith he) will wholely prevent, as in *pages* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. But the ſtreſs of all that 's offered upon this account, is laid upon thoſe aforementioned great Miſtakes, that, (like the blood in the veins of the body) runs through the whole Diſcourſe, *viz. An univerſal and promiſcuous Transplantation.* Which being denied, is a ſufficient Anſwer. For I do not judge the *Diſcuſſor* can ſuppoſe that the continuing the Popiſh ſuperſtitious Souldier and Proprietor among and over the Common people, will be a means to make way for their Converſion to the Proteſtant Religion, more than to continue their Prieſts: But is ſo evident, it will much rather tend to the contrary, even ſhutting that dore of hope that may otherwiſe be opened to that work, that to ſpend time about arguing of that would not be to profit; and beſides, require more lines than I am willing to ſwell this Paper into: It being much larger already than I intended it.

I ſhall cloſe with a modeſt requeſt to the Iriſh, as the *Diſcuſſor* doth to the Authority (and which is the modeſteſt let the Reader judge) THAT THEY WOULD PLEASE TO SUBMIT UNTO THAT WHICH THEY CANNOT WITHSTAND. Which I hope thoſe that are ſober and wiſe will conſider; and rather charge their ſufferings therein upon the events of their former evil counſels & incitements to Rebellion, and their too ready compliance therewith; than upon thoſe in Authority over them, whoſe duty, upon the foregoing conſiderations, neceſſitates them thereunto? However I am well aſſured in the ſequel, Thoſe who ſhall take my advice will have more cauſe to thank me for my counſel, than thoſe in Authority have to thank the *Diſcuſſor* for his. And for ſuch of them as ſhall adventure to put the matter upon tryal, I doubt not but they will be convinced *Transplantation* is a poſſible work, it may be, when they would be glad to enjoy the benefit of it too late: But thoſe whom divine Juſtice have deſigned or marked out for deſtruction, many may pity, but none can deliver.

FINIS.

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